Aramaic Writings of the Second Temple Period and the Growth of apocalyptic Thought: another survey of the Texts*

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Résumé

Les textes de Qumrân rédigés en araméen constituent une tradition littéraire juive vivante dans cette langue durant la période hellénistique. Quand elles sont perçues comme un corpus, ces œuvres révèlent un intérêt immense pour la révélation divine à travers des rêves et des visions. Une grande partie de ces textes seraient soit des apocalypses, soit ils adoptent une vision apocalyptique du monde. Cet article se présente comme une étude de la littérature araméenne conservée à Qumrân, avec pour but de jauger l'étendue de ce qui appartient à l'apocalyptique. Les résultats sont comparés aux listes précédentes de textes apocalyptiques araméens, et l'observation est renforcée par ce que nous trouvons dans cette littérature à ses débuts et qui se développera éventuellement en un genre littéraire mieux défini nommé « apocalypse ».

Summary

The texts from Qumran composed in Aramaic represent a vibrant Jewish literary tradition in that language during the Hellenistic period. When viewed as a corpus, these works reveal an intense interest in divine revelation through dreams and visions, resulting in a large number of compositions that may be either identified as apocalypses, or said to embrace an apocalyptic worldview. This essay presents a com-

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prehensive survey of the Aramaic literature preserved at Qumran, with the aim of gauging the extent to which it is shaped by apocalypticism. The results are compared with previous lists of Aramaic apocalyptic texts, and the observation is strengthened that we find in this literature the beginning and early development of what would eventually develop into a more well-defined genre 'apocalypse'.

Introduction

Recognizing and exploring the diversity of Hellenistic-Roman period Judaism comprises a major contribution of scholars working in this area over the past century. Whether one prefers to speak of judaisms or Judaism, the surviving Jewish literature of these eras attests to rich, presumably voluble debates over a number of religious and other issues. The Dead Sea Scrolls, and to a lesser extent the Cairo Genizah, have expanded considerably our textual data for assessing the varied facets of ancient Jewish thought and society, even if comprehensive attempts to map in detail the social groups behind the extent literature are typically unconvincing.[1]

The expanded view afforded by the Scrolls is gained not only through the writings of the sect living at Qumran or their immediate forebears (e.g., the *Community Rule*, *Hodayot*, or *War Scroll*), but also through the many and varied 'non-biblical', 'non-sectarian' compositions found in the caves. My focus in this essay is the Qumran texts composed in Aramaic – between 30 and 40 in total – only a few of which were known before the Scrolls were discovered. Although discussions over the dating and provenance of many Aramaic texts continue, it is widely agreed that they are, generally speaking, both non- and pre-sectarian, originating from the fourth to mid-second centuries BCE.[2] That is to say, they represent a clus-

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1. For an overview of several efforts at mapping ancient Judaism, and a more fulsome version of the point made here, see James C. VanderKam, "Mapping Second Temple Judaism," in G. Boccacini – J.J. Collins, ed., *The Early Enoch Literature* (Leiden, 2007) 1-20.

2. This was first suggested by J.T. Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le désert de Juda* (Paris, 1957) 95-96 (revised English edition: *Ten Years of Discovery in the Judean Wilderness* (London, 1959) 139). See also idem, "Écrits préésséniens de Qumrân : d'Hénoch à Amram," in M. Delcor, ed., *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (Paris-Leuven, 1978) 91-106 (esp. 106). Some other scholars who adopt this position are: S.Segert, "Die Sprachenfragen in der Qumrāngemeinschaft," in H. Bardtke, ed., *Qumran-Probleme: Vorträge des Leipziger Symposions über Qumran-Probleme vom 9. bis 14. Oktober 1961* (Berlin, 1963) 315-339; S. Segert, "Review of J.A. Fitzmyer,

ter of Jewish writings later than the principally Hebrew literature that would eventually coalesce into the canonical Hebrew Scriptures (and the Christian Old Testament), yet largely earlier than the principally Hebrew compositions of the Hasmonean and Herodian periods (e.g., *Jubilees*, 1 Maccabees, and the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls).[3] Viewed as a corpus, the Aramaic writings are also a vital locus of Jewish apocalypticism (German *Apokalyptik*) during the Hellenistic period, reflecting an important, early stage in the development of both the apocalyptic worldview and the literary genre 'apocalypse'. My aim below is to demonstrate this claim through a survey of the apocalyptic elements in the Aramaic Scrolls. In so doing, I hope to draw further attention to the prominent apocalyptic character of this group of texts.

Before embarking on my survey, it may be helpful to address briefly two issues pertinent to my task: the challenge of defining 'apocalypticism' and 'apocalypse', and the question of whether or not to treat the Aramaic texts as a corpus. While a growing number of scholars recognize a special connection between the Aramaic writ-

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The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1966)," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 13 (1968) 281-282. J. GREENFIELD, "Aramaic and Its Dialects," in S. PAUL *et al.*, ed., *'Al Kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies of Jonas Greenfield on Semitic Philology*, I (Leiden-Jerusalem, 2001) 361-375 (esp. 367). B.-Z. WACHOLDER, "The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature (500-164 BCE): A Classification of Pre-Qumranic Texts," in L.H. SCHIFFMAN, ed., *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (Sheffield, 1990) 257-281 (esp. 259). E. BICKERMAN, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge, 1988) 51-65. M.O. WISE, "Accidents and Accidence: A Scribal View of Linguistic Dating of the Aramaic Scrolls from Qumran," in T. MURAOKA, ed., *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (Leuven, 1992) 124-167 (esp. 117). D. DIMANT, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community," in A. HILHORST *et al.*, ed., *Flores Florentino: The Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (Leiden, 2007) 197-205; D. DIMANT, "Themes and Genres in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran," in K. BERTHELOT – D. STÖKL BEN EZRA, ed., *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June-2 July 2008* (Leiden, 2010) 15-45. E.J.C. TIGCHELAAR, "Aramaic Texts from Qumran and the Authoritativeness of Hebrew Scriptures: Preliminary Observations," in M. POPOVIĆ, ed., *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (Leiden, 2010) 155-171.

3. I admit that this is a slight exaggeration, since we do possess Jewish writings in Hebrew (e.g., Ben-Sira) and Greek (e.g., Letter of Aristeas), and we may cite brief periods of overlap on either end of the chronological spectrum that I propose. Nevertheless, it may now be said that the overwhelming majority of extant Jewish texts from these centuries are written in Aramaic, warranting my description of a broad literary phenomenon in that language.

ings from Qumran and apocalypticism (or an apocalyptic worldview), in my opinion the extent of this relationship is widely under appreciated. This is due, in part, to the fact that some scholars have searched for writings that conform to a literary genre 'apocalypse', however that is defined, rather than "the broader phenomenon of apocalypticism."[4] Klaus Koch and John Collins have argued reasonably that use of the adjective 'apocalyptic' or the noun 'apocalypticism' must be controlled by a defined group oftexts that are widely agreed to be apocalypses, since without this limitation a tangle of terminological confusion ensues.[5] I am interested here in Aramaic texts that may be identified with any of these words, from formal apocalypses to works containing notable apocalyptic features or motifs. The problem of deciding what constitutes an apocalypse, however, is not as easy as it may at first seem. To begin, there is circularity to making this decision, since it depends to some extent on one's notions about 'apocalyptic' and 'apocalypticism'. Moreover, a comparison of the different starting points and approaches adopted by, for example, Jean Carmignac, John Collins, and Paolo Sacchi reveals how different the resulting definitions or descriptions can be.[6] The potential solution of choosing only works that are self-identified as an 'apocalypse' will obviously not work, since it would rule out a text such as Daniel 7, and is in any event biased toward later works situated at a more developed stage of the tradition (and composed in, or translated into, Greek). In the context of the present study, there is also the issue of shifting borders with every new apocalypse identified: once a new text (e.g., *Visions of Amram*) is adopted as an apocalypse, it may potentially bring with it new associations, thereby re-jigging the base definition of our constructed genre. I merely observe these well-documented problems with no

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4. On the difference see J.J. Collins, "Genre, Ideology and Social Movements in Jewish Apocalypticism," in *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (Leiden, 1997) 25-38 (here 28).

5. K. Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic* (London, 1972) 18-35 (translated from the original German *Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik* (Gütersloh, 1970). J.J. Collins, "Genre, Ideology and Social Movements in Jewish Apocalypticism," in *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (Leiden, 1997) 25-38.

6. J. Carmignac, "Qu'est-ce que l'Apocalyptique ? Son emploi à Qumran," *Revue de Qumrân* 10 (1979) 3-33; J.J. Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," in J.J. Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (Atlanta, 1979) 1-19; P. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (Sheffield, 1997).

illusion of solving them. For the purposes of this survey, I use as a general guideline the definition of an apocalypse set forth by Collins in *Semeia* 14, and qualified slightly since 1979 by Collins and others.[7] While it will become apparent that I am not entirely satisfied with every part of that definition, it has the advantage of providing a fixed point of reference.

The legitimacy of studying the Aramaic Scrolls as a corpus of related texts is a topic that has received limited attention to date, and one that deserves more sustained deliberation in the future.[8] The present study is, in part, intended as a further contribution to this discussion. For the purposes of my survey I have considered all literary (i.e., non-documentary) works found in the 11 caves typically associated with the Qumran settlement. The translation of Hebrew Job from Cave 11 (11Q10) merits separate treatment, and was not included. I do judge Tobit to be one of the Aramaic Scrolls (although it factors little into this study), as well as the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, though these texts are complicated somewhat by their combination with Hebrew.[9] The inclusion

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7. J.J. Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," in J.J. Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (Atlanta, 1979) 1-19. See also A. Yarbro Collins, "Introduction: Early Christian Apocalypticism," in A. Yarbro Collins, ed., *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting* (Atlanta, 1986) 1-11; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Social Aspects of Palestinian Jewish Apocalyptic," in D. Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979* (Tübingen, 1983) 641-654; F. García Martínez, "Encore l'Apocalyptique," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 17 (1986) 224-232; E.J.C. Tigchelaar, "More on Apocalyptic and Apocalypses," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 18 (1987) 137-244; J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids, ²1998).

8. The most direct address was at the conference held in Aix-en-Provence, France, in 2008 (published as *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June-2 July 2008*; see n. 2). Among the questions posed to the participants by co-organizers Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra was: "Can we find categories that allow us to regard the Aramaic texts as one corpus?" (2). Unfortunately, few of the studies tackle this question in a direct way, but some scholars, such as Devorah Dimant, Florentino García Martínez, and John Collins do seem to assume that the Aramaic texts to form a corpus, or use language implying as much.

9. On Tobit's original language see the discussion and bibliography in J.A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (Berlin, 2003) 18-22; also D.A. Machiela – A.B. Perrin, "Tobit and the Genesis Apocryphon: Toward a Family Portrait," *Journal of Biblical Literature* (forthcoming). A diverse body of ancient versions

of Daniel is especially important, since it has been so influential in discussion of apocalypses and apocalypticism, and also because it is sometimes left out of discussions of the Aramaic Scrolls (e.g., it is not included in Klaus Beyer's collection of *aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*). This is presumably because of the common distinction between 'biblical' and 'non-biblical' texts from Qumran. While for some purposes this distinction is useful, from historical and literary perspectives any such separation of Daniel from the other, roughly contemporaneous Aramaic works is unwarranted.[10]

Apocalyptic Texts among the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls

As a way of introducing the texts considered apocalypses or reflecting an apocalyptic worldview among the Aramaic Scrolls, I provide a survey of five scholars who have addressed this topic with some directness: Devorah Dimant, Jörg Frey, Florentino García Martínez, Lorenzo DiTommaso, and John Collins.[11] In the table below I simply list the texts surveyed by each author, which runs the danger of smoothing over any number of important nuances provided in their discussions. For instance there is occasional ambiguity about whether or not a text is *really* included, as with Collins' statement that "4QWords of Michael (4Q529) has at least a prom-

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of Tobit is preserved in Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic.

10. For the inherent anachronism of using 'biblical' and 'non-biblical' for studying something like ancient literary genres or religious notions see J.C. VanderKam, "Revealed Literature in the Second Temple Period," in *From Revelation to Canon* (Leiden, 2000) 1-30.

11. An earlier discussion of *Apokalyptik* at Qumran, drawing attention to a number of the Aramaic texts, is found in H. Stegemann, "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfundefür die Erforschung der Apokalyptik," D. Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979* (Tübingen, 1983) 495-530. Two other lists of apocalyptic texts from Qumran not included here, but worthy of comparison, are those of A. Lange – U. Mittmann-Richert ("Annotated List of Texts from the Judean Desert Classified by Genre and Content," in E. Tov *et al.*, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (Oxford, 2002) 141-142) and B.H. Reynolds (*Between Symbolism and Realism: The Use of Symbolic and Non-Symbolic Language In Ancient Jewish Apocalypses 333-63 B.C.E.* (Göttingen, 2012) 28-31). It is interesting to note the great extent to which their lists (which are not restricted by language) comprise Aramaic texts.

ising title," or Dimant's somewhat surprising inclusion of Tobit in her list when that text was not discussed at all in her accompanying survey.[12] A general lack of detailed discussion of texts marks most of the surveys (though Dimant and Frey do provide some commentary). In addition, the shorter lists of Frey and Collins work with a more explicit, tighter definition of 'apocalypse' and 'apocalypticism,' while Dimant and García Martínez speak more vaguely of these categories and the texts associated with them (DiTommaso's category 'apocalyptica' also seems quite broad). With these caveats in mind, the following table provides a useful point of departure for my own survey.[13]

Key:

Discussed by all five authors
Discussed by two or more authors, but not all five
Discussed by this author only
** (A work not known in this form before the Qumran discoveries)*

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12. J.J. Collins, "The Aramaic Texts from Qumran: Conclusions and Perspectives," in K. Berthelot – D. Stökl Ben Ezra, ed., *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June-2 July 2008* (Leiden, 2010) 547-562 (here 557). Dimant's pioneering article ("Apocalyptic Texts at Qumran," in E. Ulrich – J.C. VanderKam, ed., *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (Notre Dame (Indiana), 1994) 175-191) is significantly earlier than the others, and she therefore had the disadvantage of a less comprehensive knowledge of the texts than the other four scholars. Though she has written more recently of the classification of the Aramaic Scrolls (see D. Dimant, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community," in A. Hilhorst *et al.*, ed., *Flores Florentino. The Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (Leiden, 2007) 197-205), I use her earlier article here because it addresses most directly the question of Aramaic apocalyptic texts. See also n. 14, below.

13. Please note that at some points I have simplified, standardized, and/or combined the titles of some texts for the purpose of easier comparison. Some of Dimant's list, for instance, has been reallocated or renamed by Puech or others (most notably, the texts in her "miscellaneous" category), and in these instances I have updated her list to accord with subsequent scholarship or her own later designations (e.g., in "The Qumran Aramaic Texts"). For the precise titles and manuscripts cited the original publications should be consulted. The order of presentation for each list reflects that of the original author.

D. Dimant[14]	J. Frey[15]	F. García Martínez[16]	L. DiTommaso[17]	J. J. Collins[18]
"Related to the apocalyptic literature"	"Apocalypsen"	"Apocalyptic character"	"Apocalyptica"	1. "Apocalypses" 2. "Apocalyptic features"
*Book of Giants**	*Daniel*	***New Jerusalem****	***1 Enoch***	[1.]
New Jerusalem*	*Pseudo-Daniel**	***Four Kingdoms****	*Book of Giants**	***1 Enoch***
Visions of Amram*	***Sohn-Gottes-Text****	***Son of God****	*Daniel*	*Daniel 7*
*Aramaic Levi**	***Vier Reiche****	***Words of Michael****	*Pseudo-Daniel**	***New Jerusalem****
*Testament of Jacob (?)**	***1. Henoch-buch***	*Birth of Noah**	***Son of God****	***Words of Michael****
*Apocryphon of Levi**	*Gigantenbuch**	*Apocryphon of Levi**	*Birthof Noah**	***Four Kingdoms****
*Testament of Qahat**	***Neue Jerusalem****	*Pseudo-Daniel**	*Aramaic Levi**	***Son of God****
Testament of	***Vision Amrams****	***1 Enoch***	***New Jerusalem****	***Visions of Amram****
	Worte	***Visions of***	*4QpapApocalypse (4Q489)**	[2.]
			Words of Michael*	*Apocryphon of Levi**
			Testament of	

14. D. Dimant, "Apocalyptic Texts at Qumran," in E. Ulrich – J.C. VanderKam, ed., *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (Notre Dame (Indiana), 1994) 175-191. A more recent and restrictive list may be found in D. Dimant, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community," in A. Hilhorst *et al.*, ed., *Flores Florentino. The Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (Leiden, 2007) 200-201, though the list there is titled "Visionary Compositions" and it is unclear whether Dimant intends it to cover all texts considered apocalyptic. She does describe this later list as including "Aramaic visionary apocalyptic tales," but does not directly address to what extent the categories "visionary compositions" and "apocalyptic texts" are coterminous. Her list is as follows: *New Jerusalem, Four Kingdoms, Apocryphon of Daniel, Words of Michael, Birth of Noah, Apocryphon of Levi,* and *Pseudo-Daniel*.

15. J. Frey, "Die Bedeutung der Qumran-Funde für das Verständnis der Apokalyptik im Frühjudentum und im Urchristentum," in J. Frey – M. Becker, *Apokalyptik und Qumran* (Paderborn, 2007) 11-62.

16. F. García Martínez, "Aramaica Qumranica Apocalyptica?," in K. Berthelot – D. Stökl Ben Ezra, ed., *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June-2 July 2008* (Leiden, 2010) 435-450.

17. L. DiTommaso, "Apocalypticism and the Aramaic Texts from Qumran," in K. Berthelot – D. Stökl Ben Ezra, ed., *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June-2 July 2008* (Leiden, 2010) 451-483.

18. J.J. Collins, "The Aramaic Texts from Qumran: Conclusions and Perspectives," in K. Berthelot – D. Stökl Ben Ezra, ed., *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June-2 July 2008* (Leiden, 2010) 547-564 (esp. 555-559).

*Judah**	***Michaels****	***Amram****	*Jacob (?)**	*Book of Giants**
*Testament of Joseph**		*Testament of Jacob (?)**	*Apocryphon of Levi**	*Birth of Noah**
Son of God*			*Testament of Qahath**	
*Prayer of Nabonidus**		"and many other fragmentarily preserved compositions" (p. 483)	***Visions of Amram****	
*Jews in the Persian Court**			***Four Kingdoms****	
*Daniel-Suzanna (?)**			*4QVision[a-c] (4Q556-58)**	
*Birth of Noah**			*6QApocalypse (6Q14)**	
Four Kingdoms*				
*4QVision[a-c] (4Q556-58)**				
Words of Michael*				
Tobit				
*Genesis Apocryphon**				
1 Enoch				

The following breakdown emerges from these five lists:

Identified by all as either an apocalypse or having apocalyptic features:

1 Enoch (sometimes broken down into various parts), ***New Jerusalem****, ***Son of God****, ***Four Kingdoms****, ***Words of Michael****, and ***Visions of Amram****

Identified by some as either an apocalypse or having apocalyptic features:

*Book of Giants** (4), *Apocryphon of Levi** (4), *Birth (or Book) of Noah** (4), *Daniel* (3), *Pseudo-Daniel** (3), *Testament of Jacob (?)** (3), *Aramaic Levi** (2), *Testament of Qahat** (2), *4QVision[a-c] (4Q556-58)** (2)

Identified by one scholar as having apocalyptic features:

*Testament of Judah**, *Testament of Joseph**, *Prayer of Nabonidus**, *Jews in the Persian Court**, *Daniel-Suzanna (?)**, *Tobit*, *Genesis Apocryphon**, *4QpapApocalypse (4Q489)**, *6QApocalypse (6Q14)**

Many pages could be spent exploring the different definitions and approaches behind these lists, as well as problems with the choice of one text or another. Instead, I will move directly into my own account, seeking to address some of these issues along the way. As mentioned above, not all of the texts to be discussed are

formally apocalypses according to the *Semeia* 14 definition, though they are included because they share a preponderance of overlapping features with the genre. There has been debate about whether generic terms such as apocalypse should be used only for complete works (which would, I admit, severely truncate the number of formal apocalypses among the Aramaic texts), or also for constituent parts of a larger work (as is the case for Daniel, though it is often stated incorrectly that "Daniel" is an apocalypse). In what follows I do treat sub-units of a work on their own. Where it is possible and appropriate I will draw on non-Qumran evidence for filling in our picture of the Aramaic Scrolls, all of which are fragmentary to a greater or lesser degree. This pertains especially to 1 Enoch and Daniel, for which we have relatively reliable later versions, but also for texts such as Aramaic Levi and Testament of Jacob (?), partially reflected in subsequent works (the Greek Testament of Levi and Jubilees respectively).[19] Texts are dealt with in a loosely thematic way, which occasionally disrupts discussion of parts of a single composition. While a number of Aramaic texts exhibit varying affinities with an apocalyptic worldview more broadly (rather than the more restrictive genre 'apocalypse'), they will not be discussed here.[20]

1 Enoch

The book of 1 Enoch is a highly ramified aggregate of interrelated traditions focused on Enoch and, to a lesser extent, Noah. The book is made up in no small part of apocalypses or sections espousing an apocalyptic worldview; these are reviewed briefly below. Since it is not extant among the Qumran material, I do not include the Book of Parables (1 En 37-71), though it is certainly of interest for our topic and deserving of further attention.

1 Enoch 13:8-36:4 (The Book of Watchers: Enoch's first heavenly ascent)[21]

These chapters provide a good (and early) example of a 'heavenly ascent' apocalypse, presented as a revelation to Enoch in a non-sym-

19. On the apocalyptic character of Jubilees see the recent monograph by T.R. Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees* (Atlanta, 2012).

20. Such as the Testament of Qahat, Dan 4-5, Tobit, and Jews in the Persian Court. This affinity accounts for some of the surprising entries in Dimant's list, above.

21. This general section of 1 Enoch is represented in the Qumran manuscripts by 4QEn^{a} (4Q201) 1 vi, 4QEn^{b} (4Q202), 4QEn^{c} (4Q204) 1, 4QEn^{d} (4Q205) 1, 4QEn^{e} (4Q206) 1.

bolic dream vision. While angels are present at various points in the experience, it begins with Enoch entering directly the presence of the "Great Glory" (14:20), and communicating with him without mediation (i.e., Enoch is depicted as one of the angels). The centerpiece of the vision is the pronouncement of God's judgment on the errant Watchers and their offspring in response to their petition for mercy (14:24-16:4), a message for which Enoch is an intermediary between heaven and earth. However, the vision also includes a tour of the cosmos and a list of angelic names.

Book of Giants (The dream visions of the giants)[22]

There is much that remains unclear about this fragmentary composition, but it is obvious that it relates to 1 En 12-16, where Enoch interacts in two cycles with the Watchers concerning the declared judgment for their abominations. In the Book of Giants several symbolic dream visions are received by the giants, sons of the Watchers, which they do not understand. These are eventually interpreted by Enoch through the intermediation of another giant, Mahavai. The extant visions employ the imagery of a tablet with writing, a garden full of trees, and a throne scene strikingly similar to that in Dan 7 and parts of 1 Enoch, in order to present the idea of an impending judgment for wickedness. While these dream visions may not qualify as apocalypses by the definition in *Semeia* 14, they clearly share a number of traits with the genre. In fact, if we consider Enoch to be a heavenly interpreter, which I believe is warranted here, the text could indeed be deemed to contain formal apocalypses. Though it is not made explicit, there can be no doubt that this work is premised on a strong typological analogy between the flood generation with its punishment and later times of rampant wickedness (i.e., an *Urzeit und Endzeit* typology, as in 1 Enoch and many other apocalyptic works of this period). It should be noted that Genesis Apocryphon 0-1 apparently addresses the same scenario as the Book of Giants and 1 En 12-16, though the precise extent of the correspondence is now difficult to gauge.

1 Enoch 72-82 (The Astronomical Book)[23]

This apocalypse is described as a book shown to Enoch by the angel Uriel. It is typically considered among the earliest apocalypses

22. This general section of the Book of Giants is represented in the Qumran manuscripts by 4QEnGiants^{b} (4Q530) ii-iii, and 6Q8.

23. This general section of 1 Enoch is represented in the Qumran manuscripts by 4QEnastr^{a} (4Q208), 4QEnastr^{b} (4Q209), 4QEnastr^{c} (4Q210), 4QEnastr^{d} (4Q211).

(e.g., by Collins), though VanderKam has noted some discontinuities between Collins' definition and the Astronomical Book.[24] It may be that what once was not an apocalypse was turned into one through the later additions of the introduction and chaps. 80-81. The Astronomical Book contains primarily a 'scientific' account of various astronomical, meteorological, and calendric phenomena (i.e., the revelation is non-symbolic), though the final chapters introduce the ideas of punishment for wickedness and erring from the established order of creation. In 1 En 82:1 Enoch specifies that he wrote down this revealed wisdom in books for posterity.

1 Enoch 83-84 (The Dream Visions I: The earth's destruction by the flood)[25]

In these chapters Enoch tells his son Methuselah of a frightening, quasi-symbolic vision of the earth being destroyed, which is interpreted upon waking by Enoch's grandfather, Mahalalel. This last fact might keep us from formally calling these chapters a historical apocalypse, though in other respects it bears the marks of the genre. The dream refers to the impending destruction of the flood in Noah's generation, due to the proliferation of wickedness therein (cf. 1 En 84:6). As with many such revelations, this one is followed immediately by a strong expression of praise and affirmation of God's sovereign control over creation and human history. In addition, Enoch makes supplication for a righteous remnant to survive the destruction, which is granted in Noah's eventual preservation.

1 Enoch 85-90 (The Dream Visions II: The Animal Apocalypse)[26]

In this extensive symbolic dream vision (Collins calls it "a complex allegory"),[27] which lacks an interpretation or a heavenly inter-

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24. Most recently in G.W.E. Nickelsburg – J.C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2* (Minneapolis (Minnesota), 2012) 367-368.

25. The presence of this section of 1 Enoch among the Qumran manuscripts has been debated. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* (Minneapolis (Minnesota), 2001) 24, 352-353, finds no evidence of these chapters, and suggests that they may have been a late addition. However, L.T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108* (Berlin, 2007) 11 n. 31, notes that two fragments from a manuscript of the Book of Giants (4QEnGiants^{a} [= 4Q204] 9-10) contain text that resembles 1 En 84:2-4, and may be a version of the first dream vision.

26. This general section of 1 Enoch is represented in the Qumran manuscripts by 4QEn^{c} (4Q204) 4, 4QEn^{d} (4Q205) 2, 4QEn^{e} (4Q206) 4, 4QEn^{f} (4Q207), 4QEn^{g} (4Q212) 1 i 1-ii 21.

27. J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (Grand Rapids, ^{2}1998) 68.

mediary, Enoch foresees Israel's troubled but ultimately just and victorious history symbolized through animal ciphers, and relates the account to Methuselah. As with the preceding vision, Enoch blessed the Lord at the vision's conclusion, stressing the Lord's knowledge of human deeds and firm control over human history. It is noteworthy that Enoch seems to immediately to grasp the dream's symbolism, despite the absence of an angelic intermediary. This would seemingly preclude the vision from being formally considered a historical apocalypse, though almost all scholars, including Collins, consider it as such.

1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-17 (The Apocalypse of Weeks)[28]

The introduction to this historical apocalypse states that its content derived from "the words of the watchers and the holy ones" and "the heavenly tablets" (93:2). It contains a mixture of symbolic (e.g., the "plant" in 93:2, 5, 10) and non-symbolic language to segment Israel's history, beginning with Enoch's birth, into a series of ten weeks. As in the Animal Apocalypse, the account includes difficulties for God's people, but culminates with the judgment of the wicked, vindication of the righteous, and a magnificent new creation.

1 Enoch 106-107 (The Birth of Noah)[29]

In this story Noah's astounding appearance at birth is described in terms strongly reminiscent of a symbolic vision in need of interpretation. As is typical with divine revelations through visions, Noah's father Lamech is terrified at his son's appearance (assuming him to be a product of the Watchers' illicit union with his wife Batenosh) and consults his father, Methuselah. Methuselah acts as an intermediary with the quasi-divine Enoch, who dwells at "the ends of the earth" (106:8) as in the Book of Giants. Enoch acts as the angelic interpreter of the event, revealing Noah's divinely-mandated role in preserving humanity through impending judgment on the earth. Though it does not address a long sweep of history, this account seems closely related to the historical apocalypses,[30]

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28. This general section of 1 Enoch is represented in the Qumran manuscripts by 4QEn^{c} (4Q204) 5, 4QEn^{g} (4Q212) 1 ii 22-v.

29. This general section of 1 Enoch is represented in the Qumran manuscripts by 4QEn^{c} (4Q204) 5.

30. In fact, we might consider this episode a 'zoomed in' snapshot of an especially critical point in the divine plan of history regularly sketched in the historical apocalypses.

and contains a strong message of divine favor for the righteous and judgment for wickedness, here associated with the errant Watchers. In chap. 107 the scheme of wickedness and judgment is extended to a distant future horizon where "evil and wickedness will end" (107:1) – presumably with an eschatological judgment like that of Noah's generation – and righteousness will be established. Here the *Urzeit und Endzeit* typology between the flood generation and the eschatological judgment is on full display.

Genesis Apocryphon(1Q20) 2-5.27

This is a closely related, and in my opinion earlier, version of the story found in 1 En 106-107.[31] In these four columns we find a fuller account of the events surrounding Noah's birth and Enoch's related revelation told from the perspective of Noah's father Lamech (rather than Enoch). It is noteworthy that the story was transmitted in multiple literary contexts.

Birth of Noah (4Q534-36)

While a consensus has emerged that this fragmentary composition speaks in elevated terms of Noah, it is really impossible to decide the issue with what remains of its text. It is clear that the work tells of the birth and other aspects of a special individual who is "the chosen of God" (בחיר אלהא; 4Q534 1 i 10) and has an important role to play in the history of God's people. The formal indicators of an apocalypse are not preserved (e.g., the framework of a revelation or an intermediary), but language that often accompanies the genre – such as references to "mysteries" (רזין; 4Q534 1 i 8, 4Q536 2 i+3:8-9) and "books" (ספריא; 4Q534 1 i 5) – are present. Historical events are also foretold (4Q534 1 ii+2; 4Q536 2-3). These themes imply a message similar to that in the accounts of Noah's birth from 1 Enoch and the Genesis Apocryphon, even if 4Q534-36 do not refer to Noah: God is concerned with, governs over, and will act within, human history. A conservative assessment is that this work is closely related to the genre historical apocalypse, even if it is not deemed one formally for some scholars working with a stricter definition.

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31. Though George Nickelsburg would disagree; see D.A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13-17* (Leiden, 2009) 9-13. L.T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108* (Berlin, 2007) 12, also considers the Genesis Apocryphon to preserve the earlier version of the tradition.

Daniel

As with 1 Enoch, it is widely agreed that Daniel is a collection of distinct but related traditions brought together into its present form soon after the persecutions of Antiochus IV, in the mid 160's BCE. Here is where agreement often ends, and a roiling cauldron of issues challenges historical discussion of the book's compositional process before this time. Below I deal only with the Aramaic section of the book (Dan 2-7).

Daniel 2

This chapter is usually grouped among the so-called Court Tales of Daniel, but has many close connections with the genre apocalypse, especially Daniel 7 and the Four Kingdoms text (see below). It concerns divine revelation given to Nebuchanezzar through a symbolic dream vision, dividing a long stretch of human history into four periods associated with earthly kingdoms (Babylonia, Media, Persia, and Greece), followed by a fifth in which "the God of heaven will set up a kingdom that will never be destroyed" (Dan 2:44). Daniel provides the interpretation (revealed to him in a "vision of the night"), and stresses that, in reality, "there is a God in heaven who reveals mysteries (גלא רזין) and *he* has made known to King Nebuchadnezzar what will be at the end of days" (Dan 2:28). The dream is thus presented as divine revelation with an eschatological concern. When we consider that Daniel fills the usual role of the interpreting angel in this story, its strongly apocalyptic character becomes even clearer. Some would consider this an apocalypse, though it is not one according to the *Semeia* 14 definition.

Four Kingdoms (4Q552-53)

Though the overall structure of this text is unclear, enough isolated details remain to show that it was likely an apocalypse, and to summarize some of its contents. The text is narrated in the first person, angels are several times referred to, geographic regions and personal names (notably Moses) occur, and one section recounts a symbolic vision in which the seer witnesses four talking trees, representing four earthly kingdoms (4Q552). Babylonia, Persia, and perhaps Media are mentioned in connection with the trees, and animal symbolism (calves and lambs, 4Q553 13) is employed elsewhere. Words such as "judges," "escape," and "chaff" may refer to the theme of eschatological judgment. Some have suggested that the

seer is Daniel, though this cannot be shown with certainty. In any event, the text certainly bears the marks of an apocalypse.

Daniel 7

One of the classic apocalypses, widely acknowledged as a key representative of the genre, this chapter recounts a symbolic vision seen by Daniel and subsequently interpreted by an angel. It uses the same 4 + 1 scheme of Dan 2 and probably Four Kingdoms, though with fantastic animals instead of a statue or trees, and culminates in a scene of eschatological judgment. This throne scene is similar to those in the Book of Watchers (1 En 14), the Animal Apocalypse (1 En 90), and the Book of Giants (4Q530 2 ii-11:15-20).

Son of God (or Apocryphon of Daniel; 4Q246)

This text is classified as an apocalypse by both Frey and Collins, even though the intermediary figure is almost certainly a human (perhaps Daniel) interpreting the dream of a king. In this respect, it appears nearly identical in basic structure with Dan 2 (usually *not* considered an apocalypse; here we see some inconsistency in application) and shares specific language with Dan 2 and 7. The vision is symbolic, pointing toward the future vicissitudes of human history. Crucial to this account is a "Son of God" (also "Son of the Most High"), who will play a pivotal role inthe inception of an (eschatological) "eternal kingdom", accompanied by decisive divine action. The status of the "Son of God" (whether positive or negative) has been debated, but the strongly apocalyptic worldview of the text is undeniable in either case. Most have considered this text to date to the early 2nd century BCE.

Pseudo-Daniel A-B (4Q243-44)

If the reconstruction of Collins and Flint is accepted, this composition pictures Daniel (who is mentioned by name) in the court of Belshazzar (also mentioned; cf. Dan 5) recounting and then predicting Israel's history up to the eschatological era.[32] This is done in a prosaic (non-symbolic), detailed way not usually found in other apocalypses, though Collins and Flint offer an analogy with Jubilees. Elements of this text clearly overlap with other apocalypses, and it assumes an apocalyptic view of history, divine purpose, and eschatological expectation. The lack of explicit reference to divine

32. See J.J. Collins – P.W. Flint, "Pseudo-Daniel," in G. Brooke *et al.*, ed., *Qumran Cave 4: XVII, Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (Oxford, 1996) 95-164.

revelation in the extant fragments cautions against classifying this work as an apocalypse by the *Semeia* 14 definition, though it may well have been one.

Pseudo-Daniel C (4Q245)

Once commonly treated as part of 4Q243-44, Collins and Flint have now argued that this manuscript represents a different composition, also mentioning Daniel and giving an overview of history culminating in a description of eschatological judgment and restoration. What little is left of the text contains a condensed list of high priests up to the time of the Hasmonean high priest Simon (142-35 BCE) followed by a partial list of Israelite kings (frg. 1), and the end of five lines in frg. 2 almost certainly describe an end of wickedness and the eschatological establishment of justice. Like 4Q243-44, it is closely related to, or dependent upon, the genre and function of historical apocalypses, even if it may not be one on strictly formal grounds.

Genesis Apocryphon 12:26(?)-15

It is remarkable that the Genesis Apocryphon continues to be ignored in discussions of apocalyptic literature given that it contains a relatively well-preserved, novel example of the historical apocalypse genre. The specific details of the apocalypse remain vague, but the general outline can be partially ascertained. Noah receives a symbolic dream vision, later interpreted by an angel, in which he sees a collection of various animals, materials (stone, clay, gold, silver, iron, and wood), and cosmic bodies (sun, moon, and stars) in a scene of destruction (probably the flood). This is followed by an arboreal scene involving at least one olive tree and one cedar tree. The olive tree is destroyed in language reminiscent of Dan 4, but we are told that the cedar symbolizes Noah. An elaborate account of the cedar's branches represents the interactions of his descendants. The account culminates with a scene of eschatological judgment depicting a warrior (who is "the Mighty Lord") coming from the south with fire and a sickle. These columns constitute a historical apocalypse by any definition.

Genesis Apocryphon 6:11-7:6

Though not as well-preserved as the account in cols. 12-15, this section of the Apocryphon also preserves the framework (angelic mediation, revelation of divine mysteries) and some of the content

of a non-symbolic historical apocalypse delivered to Noah through a dream vision. The vision appears to address primarily the coming punishment of the flood and Noah's special, salvific role. I consider it very likely that this is an elaboration on 1 En 10:2-3, where Sariel is sent to Noah to notify him of the future and "what he should do."

Testament of Jacob (4Q537)

Fragments 1-3 of this text are related to Jacob's vision in Jub. 32:20-26, with the latter passage probably constituting a subsequent précis of our Aramaic composition (as Jubilees is known to do with other Aramaic works). Though the narrative framework is not preserved in 4Q537, we can discern that an angel is revealing heavenly knowledge to Jacob by speaking with him and "showing" him things, and by having him read from tablets (לוחיא; cf. the same device in the Astronomical Book). Using Jubilees to help interpret the fragmentary Aramaic remains, we can see that Jacob is informed of a number of matters, including the sacrificial cult, the plan of a temple, and the future of his descendants. The account probably included some eschatological material (see frgs. 15-23), though this is not certain. In my opinion, categorizing this text as a historical apocalypse seems justified.

Aramaic Levi Document (1QLevi, 4Q213a, 4Q213b)

Though only a small portion of the Aramaic text remains, triangulating evidence from the Cairo Genizah copy, a Greek Mt. Athos manuscript, and the later, reworked Greek Testament of Levi demonstrates that Levi experiences at least one (and perhaps more) apocalyptic dream vision in the Aramaic Levi Document.[33] In the apocalypse(s) Levi is guided by, or speaks with, angels and receives the divine gift of the priesthood. If the Greek Testament is a reliable guide (and it appears to be at this point) the apocalypse is of the heavenly journey sort, in which Levi ascends, sees heavenly wonders, and has the priesthood conferred upon him. Whatever the details may be, it certainly appears to be an apocalypse.

33. For discussion see J.C. Greenfield – M.E. Stone – E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document* (Leiden, 2004) 11-17.

Apocryphon of Levi (4Q540-41)

Though Puech views these two manuscripts as part of the same work, there is no direct overlap and the matter remains uncertain.[34] In 4Q540 an individual is spoken about in the third person; he will suffer tribulation and deprivation, but will then become "like the Great Sea." The sanctuary (מקדשא) is also mentioned. It is clear that this is a text speaking prophetically of historical events, and it does have an apocalyptic feel. 4Q541 should, in my opinion, be classed as a fragmentary apocalypse even though, as with so many of these works, the account's narrative framework is now missing. In that manuscript someone is being addressed in the second person about visions, deep things, parables, and books. Historical entities such as Greece are also mentioned. A remarkable figure and eschatological scene are described in frg. 9 i, accompanied by language of atonement and priestly courses. The text apparently ends with a hortatory injunction to the recipient.

Visions of Amram (4Q543-47)

A fair amount of Amram's dream vision is preserved for this work, which begins with the striking incipit "A copy of the book of the words of the visions of Amram..." The vision opens with two angelic beings – one good and the other evil – disputing over Amram. Much as we find with the trees in Four Kingdoms, Amram addresses the angels directly, asking them to explain themselves. Somewhere around this point there is a shift to dialogue with the good angel alone, who reveals to Amram knowledge concerning the nature of the priesthood, sacrificial cult, and future historical events. This apocalypse appears closely related to that in the Aramaic Levi Document, but also bears some traits of a historical apocalypse.

Words of Michael (4Q529, 4Q571)

This very interesting text breaks what might be perceived as convention in the more well-known apocalypses, since it is described not as Michael's words to a human, but what he "said to the angels" (4Q529 1:1). Despite Michael's audience, the account bears the distinct feel of an apocalypse, describing cosmic geography, other angels (Gabriel), a "book of my master, the Eternal Lord," and future events involving cities and humans. Even with its idiosyncra-

34. See the introduction to these manuscripts in É. Puech, *Qumran Grotte 4: XXII, Textes Araméens, première partie, 4Q529-549* (Oxford, 2001).

sies, it seems obvious that we ought to classify this text with apocalyptic literature.[35]

New Jerusalem (1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554, 554a, 555, 5Q15, 11Q18)

In what remains of this extensive text we find the visionary account of a future Jerusalem and temple. Though the clear parallels with Ezek. 40-48 are usually adduced, this text deserves to be classed among the apocalypses especially because of 4Q554 13, which shows that the vision included an overview of history in which successive kingdoms appear to replace each other, the last being the Kittim (likely Greece, but conceivably Rome). The seer is addressed in the second person, and it seems safe to assume that the main speaker is an angel. Tigchelaar has suggested that Jacob may be the recipient, and I find this plausible given the evidence that he provides.[36]

Four other visionary texts (4Q556, 556a, 557, 558)

4Q556 and 556a (separated by Puech) are fragmentary and do seem to contain historical, apocalyptic material.[37] However, their status as apocalypses cannot be proved, and seems doubtful to me at present. 4Q557 may be judged similarly, though it does mention Gabriel. 4Q558 is the best preserved and most interesting of these texts, and in my opinion probably constituted an extensive symbolic, historical apocalypse. Angels are mentioned and seem to speak to an individual, who recounts the episode in the first person voice (frgs. 1-4). A number of symbolic arboreal and animal images are present, along with historical referents such as the kingdom of Uzziah (frg. 33) and Elijah (frg. 54 ii). The presence of Elijah and this fragment's allusion to Mal 3:23 (Heb.) make an eschatological orientation very likely.

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35. For more on this as an apocalyptic text, drawing on imagery already familiar from other texts of the same general era, see the recent article of D. Hamidović, "La transtextualité dans le livre de Michel (4Q529 ; 6Q23). Une étude du répertoire des motifs littéraires apocalyptiques sur Hénoch, Daniel, et les *Jubilés*," *Semitica* 55 (2013) 117-137.

36. E.J.C. Tigchelaar, "The Imaginal Context and the Visionary of the Aramaic *New Jerusalem*," in A. Hilhorst *et al.*, ed., *Flores Florentino. The Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (Leiden, 2008) 257-270.

37. See É. Puech, *Qumran Grotte 4: XXVII, Textes araméens, deuxième partie* (Oxford, 2009).

4QpapApocalypse (4Q489) and 6QApocalypse (6Q14)

The very fragmentary 4Q489 contains too little text to determine a genre or narrative context. It does speak of "seeing" in visionary language, and may have been an apocalypse or contained apocalyptic elements, but no more may be said. Similarly ambiguous is 6QApocalypse (6Q14). Neither text can be used with any confidence for study of our topic.

Conclusion

In their introduction to the proceedings of the 2008 Aix conference on the Aramaic texts from Qumran, Berthelot and Stökl Ben Ezra observed that, "[w]hile not appearing to be uniform, the collection of Aramaic texts found at Qumran therefore shows certain tendencies that need to be identified more precisely."[38] Judging by the contributions in that volume and the survey presented above, one very prominent tendency in these texts is the incorporation of apocalypses or related apocalyptic material. Reflecting on the Aix conference, John Collins lists some of the traits shared by many of the Aramaic Scrolls and notes that, "[t]he Aramaic corpus includes a significant proportion of the earliest known apocalyptic writings, but the corpus as a whole is not apocalyptic. It is, however, broadly representative of the milieu in which apocalyptic literature developed."[39] He listed ten works (or parts of works) from the Aramaic corpus as apocalypses or texts with apocalyptic features. I have argued above that an appreciably larger number of texts should be included under those categories: approximately twenty-five passages, representing around sixteen compositions. (This is without accounting for works that stand a good chance to have once contained apocalyptic features, such as the Testament of Qahat [4Q542].) Collins does not indicate the point at which he might consider the corpus as a whole apocalyptic, but the impressive extent to which the Aramaic texts are also apocalyptic texts should certainly be fac-

38. K. Berthelot – D. Stökl Ben Ezra, ed., *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June-2 July 2008* (Leiden, 2010) 2.

39. J.J. Collins, "The Aramaic Texts from Qumran: Conclusions and Perspectives," in K. Berthelot – D. Stökl Ben Ezra, ed., *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June-2 July 2008* (Leiden, 2010) 561.

tored into future study of the development of the genre apocalypse and apocalypticism.

Paul Hanson posited in 1975 that "the dawn of apocalyptic" had its roots in postexilic Hebrew prophetic texts of the sixth century BCE.[40] Earlier, Gerhard von Rad had suggested a close developmental connection with Israelite wisdom literature.[41] Yet others have pointed to Babylonian, Persian, or Hellenistic matrices as seedbeds of apocalyptic thought. Although each of these suggestions has merit in drawing attention to the thought-world that produced apocalyptic literature, the *beginning* of Jewish apocalyptic is to be found instead in the Jewish Aramaic literature of the late Persian and Hellenistic periods, some of which was preserved at Qumran. While this corpus includes some apocalypses by the more narrow definition based primarily on later texts (such as that of *Semeia* 14), it is more common for the Jewish Aramaic texts to weave apocalyptic visions, eschatology, or other elements into more expansive narrative frames, as we find in the Aramaic Levi Document, the Visions of Amram, the Genesis Apocryphon, and even Daniel. Eventually, these parts of the Aramaic literature would take on a life of their own and crystallize into the later, more 'pure' examples of the genre apocalypse, at least as defined by Collins and others (e.g., 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and Apocalypse of Abraham). It is among the Aramaic texts from Qumran that we glimpse the early stages of that crystallization.

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40. P. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (Minneapolis (Minnesota), 1975).

41. G. von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, II (München, ^{4}1965) 315-330. For further bibliography and development of this theme, see J.J. Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation: Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Age," *History of Religions* 17 (1977) 121-142. It is noteworthy that many of the Aramaic texts surveyed above have prominent 'wisdom' sections, often juxtaposing the two paths of righteousness and wickedness (e.g., Aramaic Levi Document and Genesis Apocryphon).